3:Oliveira--38 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guaná SK7
Terena
Mbayá SK11

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 640 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

45. 1910, II:256.

G M 175 648 131 M 563 adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

G M 175 648 571 case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO)

M [563] [622]

[Traditional Culture]

/48 cont./

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Waherê-Txané.

Then, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/54 cont./

723 the divergent behavior of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó moieties.
616 Compare the figures of Taipuvuké and Yurikoyuvakái (in our version) with that of Pitanoé, presented by Baldus as the civilizing hero, of the prankster type, "who gave the ancestors not only the seed of a leguminous plant whose beans are very important in Terena food, but also a package which contained nothing but sand flies, and furthermore it was he who endeavored to fell the clouds by cutting them with an axe."(95)

95. 1950:224.

There is no doubt that Pitanoé and Taipuyuké are the same mythical figure, while they represent the mischievous, irreverent, and aggressive side of the civilizing hero, Yurikoyuvakái.

Taipuyuké (or Pitanoé) and Yurikoyuvakái, both of them, through their divergent qualities, the mythical ancestors respectively of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó "moieties," seem to reflect, on the other hand, a slight superiority of one over the other, specifically of the Sukirikionó over the Xumonó. The version obtained by Altenfelder Silva, in this respect, is quite conclusive: "In the beginning there was only one Yurikoyuvakái who lived with his sister Livetchetchevena. Yurikoyuvakái cut the ray of the world. His sister planted a tree, and when it bore fruit, Yurikoyuvakái stole the fruit. Livetchetchevena got angry and cut him in the middle. From the upper part a Yurikoyuvakái arose; from the lower part there
[184] arose another. But the first was the master."(96) As is seen,

96. 1949:349.

despite the variations encountered as versions are compared, there is always in evidence, in one way or another, the superiority of one twin over the other. Whether this expresses the fact that at one time the moieties came /55/ to have asymmetric, nonceremonial relations, is a hypothesis we are

/63 cont./

175 177 797 [184] been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--

112. 1905:83.

for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later,

113. 1905:92.

Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikináus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanás recite our prayers." (Ibid.)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

/63 cont./

neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

/64 cont./

175
177
797

had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt
177 much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the
797 Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than
184 through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna com-
[10] munities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

[361]

175
648 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/65 cont./
175 648 184 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikináu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While [427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on [439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

> 118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)

[464] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikináu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439

It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175
648 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
184 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
167 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus, and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:218.

/66 cont./

125 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
648
184
721

121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

[361]
[162]

123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

G /69 cont./
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

G
114
177
397

132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

G [184]

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/179 cont./ reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells, of which there are not more than three for both villages; and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the community. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 166 621 [795] [528] Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 162 621 [184] registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and 161 166 621 184 538 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One concludes that the population decrease occurred only in Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic increase, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who 166 162 621 795 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 621 [177] [342] [36] /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [348] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] [797] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [1049] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] [621] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 621 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue, Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 621 177 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti, Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[144] [166] the communities to change. The older communities, such as those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/101 cont./

184 177 178 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the religious missions. External intervention and the politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna subcultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 648 184 621 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna aldeas that have native posts, differs considerably in relation to aldeas without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the aldea of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an aldea whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other aldeas. (159)

648 621

159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those aldeas--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his aldea. --It is clear that such an attitude does not go

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Pururuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the
[434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

● 184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic
[241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they
[464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans
[511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by
[463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out-
[314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

G
Gi
[245]

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433 This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G
184
233
511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/107 cont./

795
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

771
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity... so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[177]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/108 cont./
000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.
● 184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

184 621 797 795 [665] [128]

Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621 795 511 [184] [182] [648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797
795

this account divided the community into two antagonistic religious groups.

184
177

The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177
167

Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives if we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

/113 cont./

121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121]

181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/114 cont./

184 177 621 166 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) communities formed by individuals coming from fazendas. (182)

> 182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 535 527 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc. 648 These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
[648] genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
● 184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/115 cont./ An interesting
178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

178
535
621
184

185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

3:O liveira--169 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/116 cont./

178
535
621
184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178
184
621

It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

178
756
755
178
796
[177]

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/119 cont./

184 177 369 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 162 369 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in working with a population scattered through an area as extensive as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/124 cont./

*177 For now, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain
369 regularities that emerge from the observation of the Terêna contingent born in the cities.

*177 The regularities observed may be synthesized in the
369 following proposition: Assimilation is more viable, progressively,
● 184 beginning with the generations subsequent to the one that settled in the cities. And as a corollary, we have then: Those families that were organized (or formed) in the aldeas and, later, moved to the cities, are less likely to see their members assimilated into /125/ the local Brazilian society, than those families that were formed on fazendas or in the cities themselves. Whereas the former maintain greater stability and remain more closely connected to the communities from which they came or where they were born, the latter are more likely to enter the process of disorganization, permitting greater marginalization of their members, especially those of the younger generations, opening the way to "desegregation" and, as a result, facilitating
121 assimilation. The reader must already have seen, at this point, that we are using a special scheme of references, with the object of making intelligible a process so difficult to verify empirically. This scheme, recently developed by Daniel Glaser, includes the situations of "segregated," "marginal," "desegregated," and "assimilated," as sociological categories arranged in a "continuum," whereby the dynamics of ethnic identification can be understood. (196) Glaser's basic hypothesis

> 196. "Continuum:" "segregating" ↔ "marginal" ↔ "desegregating" ↔ "assimilated." (1958: 33.) /Cited in English./

is that "the change of the pattern of identification of a person,

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

201. As a source of such
[798] friction, an important role
[655] is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
●[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/134 cont./

Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and
work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility)
appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change
of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it
might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such
a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of
Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always
G yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
[469] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his
aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G
*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G [191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for
the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent,
while at the same time they dress better and are practically
undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G
563
184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/142 cont./

G 563 •184

into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

*177 G 563 369 B 563 G [191] claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" /"wild Indian"/--the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldea Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros," (208) for example, to wait on

208. Cf. note 141.

them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

/143 cont./

some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I., which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without any positive results, according to the information we got. This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/144 cont./

standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna, that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city. This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not need documents, and on the other hand they continue to perform agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed information regarding this "fazenda" population that would permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts, whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less than that between the latter and urban life.

3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work, it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive the impact of Braziliah society, represented historically by its pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,